565 and speak better." As a matter of fact, the leader of this group is relatively poor.

The informant who was most class-conscious admitted in casual conversation that the divisions existing in the town were essentially the result of individual likes and dislikes and personal ambitions. In this unguarded conversation, he admitted that class and ideological differences were of very little importance.

565 554 To the outside observer, however, the situation is not so simple. Even though class distinctions are of little significance, nevertheless persons with little or no land who work as laborers or sharecroppers receive much less respect in conversation. It must be admitted, however, that so far as our information and observations went, they are never disparaged to their face. In addition, there are two men who seem to be pariahs to whom no one pays attention. They work as professional water carriers and porters for the most part and seem very poverty-stricken, sometimes begging at

565 houses for food. Little could be learned about
554 them either in conversation or from others. Nevertheless, their isolation may not be intentional. One of our assistants had apparently never paid attention to them; after we pointed out their peculiar position, the assistant always made it a point to speak to them whenever he passed them on the street, although no one else did so.

565 The nearest approach to class groupings is
571 that persons seem to associate mostly with indi-
185 duals who are their own age mates and of the same economic class. Circumstances were not favorable for detailed studies of association, but there is little doubt that this subjective impression would be verified by such a study. Across this class grouping are at least two others. One centers about the division into progressives and conservatives, words not used in the town, but quickly adopted by our aides when we explained their significance. There seemed little difficulty on the part of anyone,

[Text continues on p. 100a]

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604 she simply did not go home except to visit. She said, simply, that her aunt fed and clothed her better than her parents and there was less work. The girl's parents fully approved the step; friendly, and possibly affectionate, relations continued.

602 476 *General behaviors.*—All more distant relatives are expected to take part in any "labor." This refers not to ordinary activities, but to such affairs as a wedding, house moving, death, or *mayordomía*. For such affairs each family wishes to have as large a crowd as possible, for [554] prestige values are involved. On such occasions the husband's relatives attend, but only the closer relatives (and the *compadres*) will ordinarily assist actively. The one exception is in a house moving where the husband's male relatives do all the labor. Relatives of the wife also are expected to attend all functions. The males do no labor, but the wife's female relatives assist in the cooking and serving. Attendance at such affairs is expected even of relatives so remote that they are not called by kinship terms. If they cannot come, they must send an adequate excuse (illness or business out of town alone are adequate) and send a small gift such as they would have brought had they attended. Failure to appear would cause bad feeling and refusal to attend "labors" of the offending relative. Roughly speaking, the obligation extends to anyone addressed or referred to as *primo* or *prima* and to any children or parents of such persons. It also extends to all *compadres* and their children.

574 602 Another occasion in which kinship obligations are apparent is when a family returns to the town after a long absence. Then all the relatives and friends come and spend a day with the family (usually at the house of a close relative). There are also many invitations to meals. Augustín said when his family returned to Cherán he ate scarcely a meal at home for several weeks.

THE COMPADRE SYSTEM

608 Fully as important as kinship in Cherán is the system of *compadrazgo*. Ordinarily this could be translated as simply the godparent system, but at Cherán the relations between parents and godparents are often as important as those between godparents and children and

346 plaza but upon an atrium facing the opposite
358 direction. The change of entrance probably was made more than 50 years ago. At about that time the walls of the church were raised considerably and a row of windows placed near the top of the walls. During the revolution the roof was destroyed when the town was burned and was replaced sometime during the 1920's.

The cost of these changes and repairs, as indicated, is borne by voluntary contributions. The labor is paid for and there is no voluntary labor for the upkeep of church structures and property, although there is considerable voluntary work in connection with the ceremonials and the care of the altars and images. In the case of small improvements, the priest asks for donations of some 10 centavos, usually making an announcement from the pulpit. For larger and more extensive repairs or improvements, *comisionados* are named by the priest who go from house to house soliciting larger contributions.

A new idea was introduced, however, by the
358 priest who left Cherán in 1940, an idea which has had interesting economic repercussions. With the completion of the reroofing of the church, many other necessary improvements still remained. With some funds at his disposal, the priest succeeded in rebuilding the pulpit. The priest then announced an inaugural ceremony and issued invitations to become godparents of the pulpit. The invitations were written or printed and stated that the persons were being invited as honorable persons who led good lives. Acceptance involved a payment of not less than 1 peso nor more than 2 pesos. Practically all those invited accepted the invitation. The priest had prepared a large quantity
454 of pottery banks in the shape of pigs, made of
358 the attractive Black ware of Quiroga and Santa Fe. At the inauguration, the priest announced that additional improvements were being planned and that each person should take one of the banks and put a 20-centavo piece in it every 15 or 30 days. Moreover, the person who first
[554] "fattened" his pig, that is, filled it with 20-centavo pieces, would be put in a position of especial sanctity. With this incentive, many people filled their banks rapidly in order to be the first and even those who did it more slowly

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MAYORDOMÍAS

796 *Mayordomías* are undertaken by families voluntarily. The word family is used advisedly, for it is doubtful if a man would ask for a *mayordomía* unless his wife was in full accord, for much of the successful carrying out of the duties depends on the cooperation of the wife. The motives are definitely religious and the persons taking *mayordomías* are always pious and loyal Catholics. In visiting the various [123] *cargueros* and observing the images of the saints, almost every time the first question asked of my guide (in Tarascan) when I visited a house was whether I was one "who could see the saints," that is, was I for or against the saints and the *mayordomías*. However, certain of the *mayordomías* are restricted to specific occupations.

782 For the most part the *mayordomías* are undertaken to secure some future good or to 78% give thanks for some past good. Undoubtedly [554] *mayordomías* are sometimes undertaken to secure social prestige, but this appears to be a rare motive. Generally the *mayordomía* is sought as the result of a promise, *manda*. If a man has no sons, he may promise to seek a *mayordomía* if he should be favored with a male offspring. Sick persons, or families in which there are sickly children, may also make such a promise. On the other hand, one who has prospered greatly may seek a *mayordomía* to express his gratitude.

One family, as an example, had a sickly son. The parents obtained the *mayordomía* of the Holy Child, one of the most expensive. As the mother put it, "The child seemed comforted at the presence of the Holy Child in the house and improved." The following year the parents sought and obtained the *mayordomía* of the Three Kings. As improvement continued, they added several items to the celebration of the *mayordomía*, paying the expenses of the dance group, which up to that time had been independent.

788 Other types of promises are also made. Vows to make the pilgrimage to San Juan de [782] las Colchas (Parangaricutiro) have already been mentioned, but shrines of other saints may also be visited. Usually some slight gift, a

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788 candle or a garment, is taken on the occasion of such pilgrimages.

MAYORDOMÍA OF THE SANTO NIÑO

796 The *mayordomía* of the Santo Niño or the Holy Child, celebrated December 25, is the most expensive of the *mayordomías* of the *cabildo*. More than any other it may be undertaken for [534] motives of social prestige and ostentation. The *carguero* in 1940, according to his wife, did not take the post as result of a vow, but simply for pleasure, "*no mas por gusto.*"

The new *carguero* assumes his duties on December 26. The previous day and night the image connected with the *mayordomía* is left in church. The new *carguero* takes the image from the church to his house. Previously, he prepares a special place for the image with the help of invited relatives and friends whom he feeds. Usually the place for the image is the "*troje.*" Everything is removed from the room, a suitably decorated altar is prepared, and often an alcove is built up of boards and lined with colored paper. Strips of colored paper are hung from the ceiling and ornaments are sometimes suspended from the ceiling as well. Miniature objects—chairs, metates, dolls, etc.—are frequently hung from the ceiling also.

During the year, the *carguero* has few duties. He keeps the image in good condition and always ready for visits of persons who may wish to say prayers and who often leave a few alms or burn a candle in honor of it. The *carguero* also begins accumulating food and property for the ceremonies. He plants as much corn and wheat as possible and prepares animals for fattening. He also accumulates cash. If necessary, he may be helped by his brothers and cousins.

796 The first act of the *carguero* is to assemble dancers to perform the dance of the *negritos* 535 (pl. 6, lower left). In this also he is helped by his brothers, who invite various young men to perform. The *carguero* also hires a teacher to teach the dancers their steps and their speaking parts, *relatos*. For about a week before December 25, the dancers rehearse in the house of the *carguero* and food is provided, at least in theory. In 1940 one of the assist- 796 ants, Agustín, was a *negrito* dancer and com-

585 articles. When the bride is dressed [she wears all three of the new rebozos], the parents of the couple and the principal godparents and relatives, together with the musicians brought by the parents of the groom, accompany the couple to the church to effectuate the marriage before the priest. [During the Mass a ring is placed on a finger of the bride. The groom can bring his own ring, but if he has not done so, a ring lent by the priest is used. The priest also puts silver money in the hands of the groom who in turn places it in the hands of the bride. If the groom has not brought money, the priest lends it to him. However, it is believed that the groom should bring the money and that the more he brings the greater the benediction for their life and the more fortunate the couple will be. There is said to be no use of the collar, chain, or ribbon used in some churches in Oaxaca.]

After the wedding, all leave the Mass and go to the house of the bride's parents, where she and all her relatives are left, the rest of the party going to the house of the groom's parents. Later, in about an hour, all return to the house of the bride's father [first calling for the bride's godparents to invite them] to escort the bride and all her relatives to breakfast [at the house of the groom's father] which consists only of a piece of bread and small cup of chocolate. On arriving at the house of the groom's father, the [male] guests seat themselves in a place previously prepared. The preparation consists of placing some logs of wood for seats [in two rows with others sometimes arranged as a table between the rows at a somewhat higher level] and at one of the ends they place the image of some saint of the Catholic religion [most commonly a picture of the saint] before which is a lighted candle and flowers [and sometimes an incense burner with copal incense]. Before the guests are served, it is the duty of the marriage manager to say a prayer in thanks. It should be noted that the first places [before the altar] are reserved for the marriage manager and the godfathers of both bride and groom and that only the men sit on these seats, the women being seated apart. The godmothers also sit apart [usually on mats in the center of the courtyard], the godmother of the groom [608] being distinguished by ribbons tied in her hair. These ribbons are given and tied on the hair by the godmother's *comadres*, granddaughters and sisters-in-law. [Ribbons are tied in the hair of all the godmothers of the groom, and of the godmother of the wedding.]

Upon completing the breakfast, all the relatives of the bride return to her house, taking the bride with them again and not being accompanied by the relatives of the groom. In the meantime the musicians play in the house of the groom. This is usually between 10 and 11 of the morning. [Meantime many guests may drop in and will be fed, being seated in a different place from the relatives. Everyone is welcome because the [554] more who attend, the more prestige attaches to the wedding. As outsiders, the members of the staff were usually especially welcome, as apparently we gave special *eclat* to the function.] Meantime all the sib-

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585 turned out to be a relative, was a member of the party.

Because of the early hour, the marriage manager had not arrived. The party all waited outside until the manager was found and came. The manager prayed, and then the men were given tamales to eat. The women then began exchanging bread and tamales at about 5:30. Later they drank all night and sat around and talked. They would have danced, but Doña Feliciana had provided no music.

On November 9 the groom was learning the prayers and it was intended to hold the wedding soon, but it was postponed until January because the priest said that no one could marry until after Christmas *por los velados*. As Doña Feliciana remarked, "No one knows what these are. This priest is very capricious. We have had various priests here, but never one like this."

554 585 During the interval of waiting, Doña Feliciana made it plain that, as she was a widow, she had no intention of holding a large wedding. The mother of the bride, however, was affronted and sent word that with all the Santa Claras in the town it was a shame they would not do anything. She also announced that although she also was a widow, she intended to pay for a band herself. When word of this got around, the Santa Claras became ashamed and bestirred themselves to see what could be done. Soon Agustín's father was remarking that the Santa Claras had gotten the better of the Rangéls, and perhaps they should do something. When the wedding finally was held by the Santa Claras it turned out to be, if anything, more elaborate than that given by Antonio Sánchez, described above.

585 The distribution of expenses, as it finally turned out, was approximately as follows:

Breakfast for the women—Erino Santa Clara, a "grandfather."
Breakfast for the men—provided by a cousin, a Santa Clara.
Dinner and bread—Emilio Santa Clara, a "grandfather."
One band—Doña Feliciana, the cousins, and uncles (Agustín paid a contribution for this).
Second band—brothers, sisters, and cousins of the groom, "grandfathers" of both bride and groom. (Agustín's father paid a contribution for this.)

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based on actual inventories of a few middle-class homes and persons.

In addition to a house and kitchen, which constitute the Cherán minimum of decent housing, there are also many other structures to be built, mostly by the man himself. If he has burros or cattle, he will have a shed used as a stable when the animals are kept at the house. A pigpen is usually built of small poles, often with a shake roof over all or part of it and an opening to the street. Additional storage space for fodder or straw is often provided, usually a pole construction roofed with shakes. The lot needs to be fenced with poles and the street side preferably should have a wall of stone or stone topped with adobe bricks. A substantial gate with a sheltering roof is regarded as a virtual necessity.

Most of the family life goes on in the kitchen. Cooking, eating, and sleeping all take place in the one structure. In fine weather, people may sit outside or sit on the porch of the house. Guests may sleep in the house, and when a son marries he and his bride will occupy the house for a year or more. Much of the business of living takes place in the lot, in the fields and mountains, and in the streets of the town.

When children come, the acquisitive activities of the family become even more important. Now, not only is there a desire to secure the minimum of housing, food, and clothing, as well as the property to make these things possible, but there is the urge to obtain resources with which to start the children out in life. Efforts are made to obtain additional fields and to buy lots so that when the children marry they can immediately have their own home and their own means of subsistence in what Cherán residents regard as the most satisfactory way, that is, by possessing sufficient farm lands.

As solid citizens the family members will also have additional responsibilities. At least one out of four families will hold a *mayordomía* at some time. The father will also serve as *comisionado* for various fiestas, perform some community labor, and serve on the night watch. He may also take some position in the church organization or occupy some office in the municipal government. If he can read and write he almost certainly will at some time be chosen for an office.

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CHANGING FUNCTIONS OF THE HUANANCHA DANCE AT THE CORPUS CHRISTI FESTIVAL IN PARACHO, MICHOACÁN, MEXICO*

By BERNICE A. KAPLAN

ONE MIGHT EXPECT in a community which, in recent decades, has seen a great deal of labor migration and the return of these migrants to their native town, that many of the local traditions and folkways would be discarded as more modern ways were adopted. One discovers, however, in getting beneath the surface of the everyday round of affairs that easily meet the eye, that many of the older customs and beliefs are adhered to with great tenacity. It often appears that the actual place of these practices in the structure and functioning of the community is not completely understood by the participants and residents. For example, in the town of Paracho the *Canaquas*, the traditional songs of praise rendered in the native idiom, are often sung for visiting dignitaries. Nonetheless the girls who sing these *Canaquas* do not themselves speak Tarascan, nor do they know what they are singing about. The singers must learn the correct ordering of the syllables by rote from an older woman whose parents spoke the language. Despite this, it is believed that this is the proper way of doing things, and that to do otherwise would mean to lose continuity with the past more rapidly than the inhabitants wish. That the visiting dignitary usually doesn't understand the songs either, is of no concern. Through the singing of the *Canaquas* and the performance of special dances the residents indicate that they are a people with a past and with traditions that are still living, and the visitor in the face of this performance must concur that these, indeed, are a "people."

Native dances and *Canaquas*, however, are not everyday affairs. Their performance is limited to times of fiesta: the dances, because they are traditionally performed at these times; the *Canaquas*, because the visiting dignitaries most often make their appearance at such festivities. Inasmuch as the transmission of cultural sanctions from one generation to another is often to be found in dance and music one may expect to find in such performances, when they are associated with particular periodic occasions, remnants of a past which may be difficult to trace in the daily activities of the people. These relics provide, however, a dynamic link with the past which, even if not wholly functional in the everyday life of the people, gives them a framework around which to orient

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535 of Santa Ursula (October 21st), and whenever there is a fiesta for the Virgin.
796 We were told that the dance is reputed to be of pre-Columbian origin. According to Nicolás León, however, this is not the case. He says, in part, ". . . The institution of the Guananchas dates from the period in which the illustrious
175 Sr. Quiroga founded the pueblo hospital of Santa Fe de la Laguna in Michoa-
535 cán . . ." León goes on to say,

796 The name *guananchecha* signifies to carry, or he who carries something, and is derived from the (Tarascan) verb *Huani*. The office which is performed by those who carry this name justifies the etymology, for they are the women who carry on their shoulders the image of the most saintly Virgin in the processions which occur every Saturday.[2]

León also quotes from the chronicles of the Reverendo padre Fray Alonso La Rea who, writing in the late 16th Century, refers to the Guananchas in Uruapan. La Rea writes as follows:

I have instructed that a procession to the Virgin of the Conception be made on Saturdays, the image to be carried on the shoulders of four of the most important Indian women, with their garlands and crowns, to the principal church. (These women receive the name of Guananchecha in Tarascan.) At the church the solemn mass is sung, I decorate the church with much sedge and flowers, as if every Saturday were the named fiesta. After the mass the Virgin is returned to the hospital in the same manner.[3]

In the *Pindecuario* of the Parish of San Francisco de Pichátaro, published in 1731, there is reference to the office of *uananchatiecha*, the women carriers of the Virgin. These women in association with other officers of the "Hospital" of this community carried the image of the Virgin about on Saturdays and Mondays. There was, apparently, a feast associated with the Saturday processions for foods of various sorts were required to be brought to the "Hospital."[4]

535 In Paracho the performers are young girls, approximately from seven to
554 twelve years of age. In earlier days in Paracho, and apparently in several other Tarascan pueblos even today, the Huananchas or Huananchichas had the year-round task of caring for the pueblo's image of the Virgin and of carrying this image in processions. Today, in Paracho at least, all that remains of the earlier practice is the performance of the dance. About three days before the holiday in 1948 the parents of the seven girls who had been nominated to take part in the dance were approached by a committee of men to ask their permission. Certain expenses, such as the purchase of special dresses and flowers for the crown and possibly for refreshments, are incumbent upon the performers and their families, and conceivably some parents might wish to turn down the offer. It is not possible to say with certainty whether status in the community had anything to do with the selection of the dancers. One of those

[2] Nicolás León, "Los Tarascos, Notas Históricas, Étnicas y Antropológicas," *Boletín del Museo Nacional de Mexico*, 2a epoca, T. I, Mexico, 1906, p. 331, footnote 33, (translated from the Spanish).

[3] *Op. cit.*, *Anales del Museo Nacional*, 2a epoca, T.III, 1906, p. 307, (translated from the Spanish).

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 422.

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chosen was born in another community and another was technically illegitimate—since her parents, although living together for many years, had never been wed either in civil or religious ceremony. The Huananchas came from all quarters of the pueblo. Participation itself, through enabling one to be among those directly concerned with "making the holiday," may well have been a means of acquiring prestige in the community. The Huananchas *may* have been chosen in the same manner as were the *Cargueros* (the officers of the trade groups) in the past. That is, a committee decided who should participate and then notified those nominated; these people might then beg off if they had good arguments. This was the procedure outlined for naming the *Cargueros* who were then responsible for organizing the various trade groups in past years, however no specific comments were made about the manner of choice of the Huananchas.

In the dance all of the little girls wore pink satin or sateen dresses. These apparently were made for the occasion. On their heads they wore gilded crowns with brightly colored artificial flowers attached. The elegance of each dancer's dress and the number of sprays of flowers on her crown were subjects of much comparison, both by the dancers themselves and by their mothers. It was observed that one of the dancers was visibly distressed over some unkindly comments about her hair which was not curled like that of the others, and because her crown bore fewer flowers. There is thus an informal, but effective, status ranking of the dancers and their families in terms of the costumes worn.

In the dance the four biggest girls—representing those who formerly used to carry the image of the Virgin—form a rectangle. Between them are the three shorter and younger girls. (See "a," Fig. 1). We were told that the center dancer of these last three represents the pennant bearer and is supposed to carry a blue pennant. She is known as *Pendonpasi*. One of the others was supposed to carry copal or incense, and the third one a candle. Actually, the dancers carried nothing when they performed in 1948. It is probable that the description given really refers to what the Huananchas used to carry in processions, and not what they held in their hands during the dance.

The only step for the entire dance is an extremely slow and, to the outsider, monotonous "simple" but the patterns which the dancers perform vary.[5] When dancing in the town hall for the various political and other officials the performance continued for approximately 45 minutes; at other times the dance was limited to about 20 minutes by elimination of the repetition of the various patterns. In the town hall and elsewhere the girls were surrounded on all sides by observers during their performance. In the description which follows, "front" refers to the two dancers closest to the officials, "back," to the two dancers farthest from the guests of honor. The three other dancers form a center row. All dancers face the guests of honor most of the time.

The dance begins with all seven girls making two very slow turns in place in

[5] René Barragán y Luis Arturo González Bonilla, *op. cit.*, p. 174. Here the authors have the following to say about a religious dance which they observed in the Internado in Paracho: "The dances are very prolonged and they always last several hours, accompanied by a terribly monotonous music." (Translated from the Spanish).